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Spotlight on Canadians: Results from the General Social Survey

Changes in parents' participation in domestic tasks and care for children from 1986 to 2015

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. not available for any reference period
.. not available for a specific reference period
... not applicable
0 true zero or a value rounded to zero
0^s value rounded to 0 (zero) where there is a meaningful distinction between true zero and the value that was rounded
^{p} preliminary
^{r} revised
x suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the *Statistics Act*
^{E} use with caution
F too unreliable to be published
* significantly different from reference category ($p < 0.05$)

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Changes in parents' participation in domestic tasks and care for children from 1986 to 2015

One of the main social revolutions of the past 40 years has certainly been the increased participation of women in the labour market and, consequently, their greater financial independence. Between 1976 and 2015, the employment rate of women aged between 25 and 54 years increased from 48.7% to 77.5%.[1]

While more and more young women were completing postsecondary studies and entering the labour market, gender role values became increasingly equal around the world (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Gubernskaya 2010; Bolzendahl and Myers 2004).

These social and cultural changes had many effects on the household, particularly the sharing of household work and the division of parental responsibilities within families. First, the increased number of hours worked by women has in fact reduced the time they can spend on household work (Bittman et al. 2003). Next, on account of their increased personal income and greater contribution to family income, women have increased their negotiating power when it comes to sharing housework (Brines 1994).

Generally speaking, studies carried out in different countries have shown that men's level of involvement in the domestic sphere is indeed higher in more recent generations (Marshall 2012; Bianchi 2011). Most data sources in Canada and elsewhere in the world nevertheless reveal that women continue to do more and sometimes considerably more than men, even when they work full-time (Craig and Mullan 2010; OECD 2011).

For these reasons, it is important to measure and track the situation. At what point is the gap between fathers and mothers in Canada, in terms of their participation in household work and child care, truly narrowed? More specifically, to what extent are fathers in 2015 more involved than their own fathers were 30 years ago?

To answer these questions, we turn to the most recent data from the 2015 General Social Survey (GSS) on Time Use, which are compared with data from the 1986 GSS on Time Use. Since respondents themselves report all the activities they did throughout the day, data from the time use surveys are recognized as being the most reliable to measure the level of participation and time spent on household work and child care.

In this study, fathers and mothers are parents who, at the time of the survey, were living with at least one of their children 17 of age or under and who were married or common-law spouses.[2]

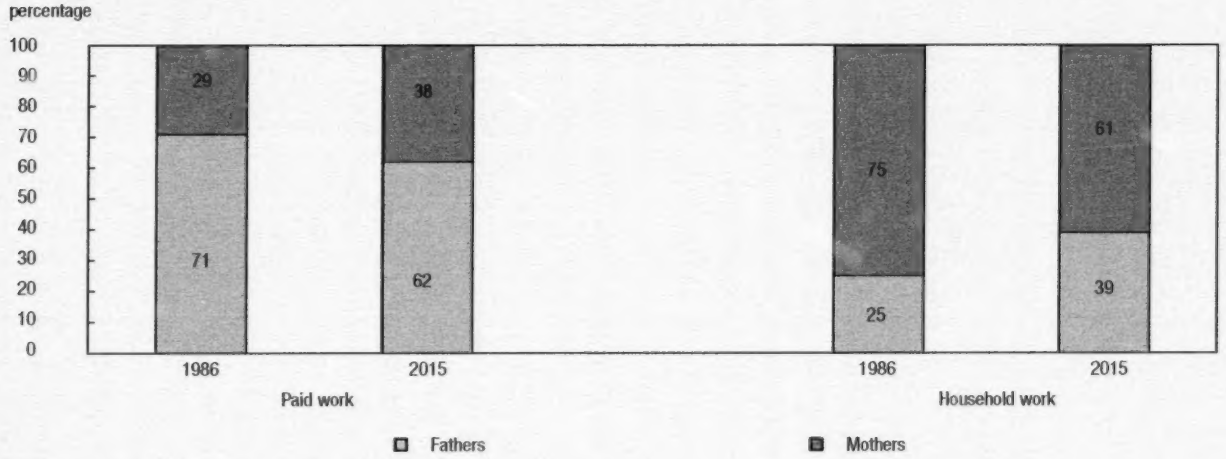
Increased participation of mothers in the labour market and of fathers in household work

Not surprisingly, time use data confirm the marked rise of the daily participation rate of women in the labour market. The percentage of mothers who had done paid work or looked for work, on an average day, increased from 36% in 1986 to 47% in 2015. In contrast, this proportion decreased for fathers, from 69% in 1986 to 64% in 2015.[3]

These trends have translated into an increase in the proportion of all hours of paid work attributable to mothers. Specifically, in 2015, mothers accounted for 38% of the total hours of paid work done by parents, up from 29% in 1986 (Chart 1).

1. CANSIM, LFS, 282-0002.
2. Single parents are excluded because sharing household work with their spouse is not applicable. Because Canadians go through the various transitions leading to adulthood at a later age than before (see Clark 2007), parents in the survey sample were older in 2015 than they were in 1986 (median age of 36 years in 1986 and 40 years in 2015).
3. These daily participation rates are lower than the employment rates generally used because, among others, statutory holidays, weekends and days during which part-time workers did not work are included in the time use data estimates.

Chart 1
Percentage distribution of the total number of hours of paid work and unpaid household work done by parents, by sex, 1986 and 2015



Sources: Statistics Canada, 1986 and 2015 General Social Survey.

And in this context, how did the participation rate of fathers and mothers in household work change?

During the course of an average day in 2015, the participation rate of mothers in household work remained higher than that of fathers (93% and 76%, respectively).[4] The difference between fathers and mothers was nevertheless smaller than before, mainly due to the increased participation of fathers in household work rather than a decrease in the participation of mothers.

Compared with 1986, the proportion of mothers who carried out household work remained unchanged (93% in 2015 and in 1986, see Table 1). Among fathers, however, participation in household work increased by 25 percentage points, from 51% in 1986 to 76% in 2015. Given these trends, the gap in the household work participation rate between fathers and mothers decreased by more than half during the period (from 42 percentage points to 17 percentage points).[5]

In addition to being more likely to perform household work, fathers who did so spent more time on it than in the past. More specifically, in 2015, on days when they had performed household work, fathers had spent an average of 2.4 hours, compared with 2.0 hours in 1986. The opposite was true for women: among those who had performed household work, the average duration was 3.0 hours per day in 2015, compared with 3.4 hours per day in 1986.

Despite this trend towards a more equal distribution of tasks, fathers were far from having caught up with mothers. In 2015, only 39% of the total number of hours of housework done by parents could be attributed to fathers. In other words, mothers had accounted for nearly two-thirds of all the hours of household work done by Canadian parents in 2015 (61%) (Chart 1).

Men are increasingly in charge of preparing meals

Among the different types of household work, preparing meals is certainly the one with the highest increase in the level of involvement among fathers. The proportion of fathers who participated in meal preparation, over the course of a day, has practically doubled in the last three decades (from 29% in 1986 to 59% in 2015).

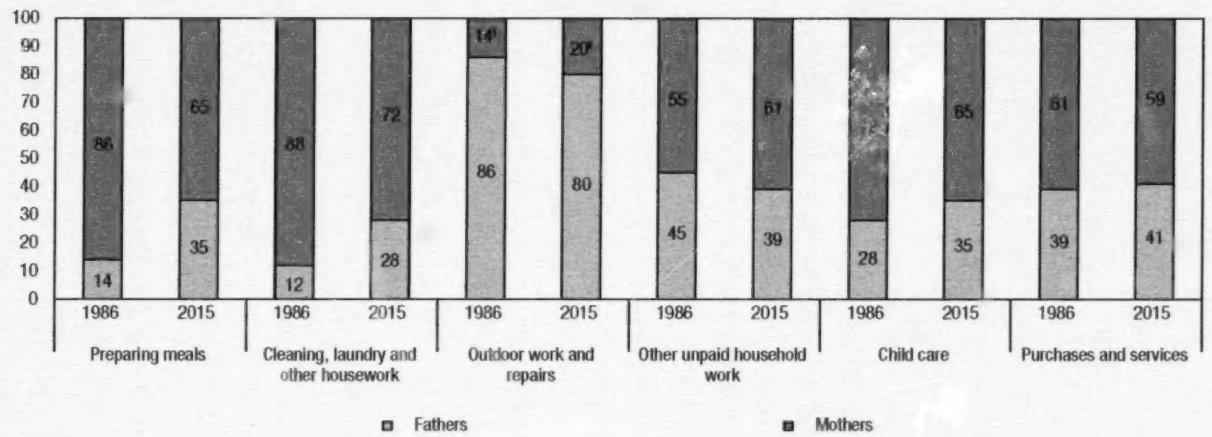
4. These rates include all types of household work, from meal preparation, cleaning and outdoor work (for more information on the different types of household work, refer to Data sources and definitions).
5. These trends differ slightly from the trends observed in the United States, where studies on sharing housework have shown that equality had increased mainly due to the decrease in the number of hours provided by women (and a low increase in the involvement of men) (Bianchi et al. 2000). In Canada, the narrowed gap in the participation between men and women was mostly caused by increased involvement by men.

Among women, however, participation in meal preparation has declined slightly, from 86% to 81% for the same period. Given this contrast, the gap in the meal preparation rates by sex has dropped, from 57 percentage points in 1986 to 22 percentage points in 2015.

Trends in more equal sharing of responsibilities of cleaning, laundry and other indoor household work between fathers and mothers were similar, though less pronounced. Close to one out of three fathers performed these activities in 2015, compared with about one in five in 1986 (33% and 22%, respectively). Conversely, the daily participation rate of mothers declined from 83% in 1986 to 65% in 2015 (Table 1).

In other words, while only 12% of the total number of hours spent on cleaning and other indoor work was done by men in 1986, this proportion rose to 28% in 2015 (Chart 2). However, this increase in the participation of fathers—albeit significant—must be put in perspective once again, since mothers still were responsible for close to three-quarters (72%) of all the hours spent on laundry and cleaning in 2015.

Chart 2
Percentage distribution of the total number of hours devoted by parents to different types of activities, by sex, 1986 and 2015



E use with caution
Sources: Statistics Canada, 1986 and 2015 General Social Survey.

Men continue to be responsible for outdoor work and repairs

According to many studies, household activities done on a less regular basis, such as repairs and outdoor work, are more often carried out by men than by women (Sullivan 2013). These trends are sometimes considered unequal where the division of household work is concerned. In fact, activities related to outdoor work and repairs of all sorts are believed to be less stressful and generally more pleasant—namely because they are optional and can be done according to a more flexible schedule (Coltrane 2000).

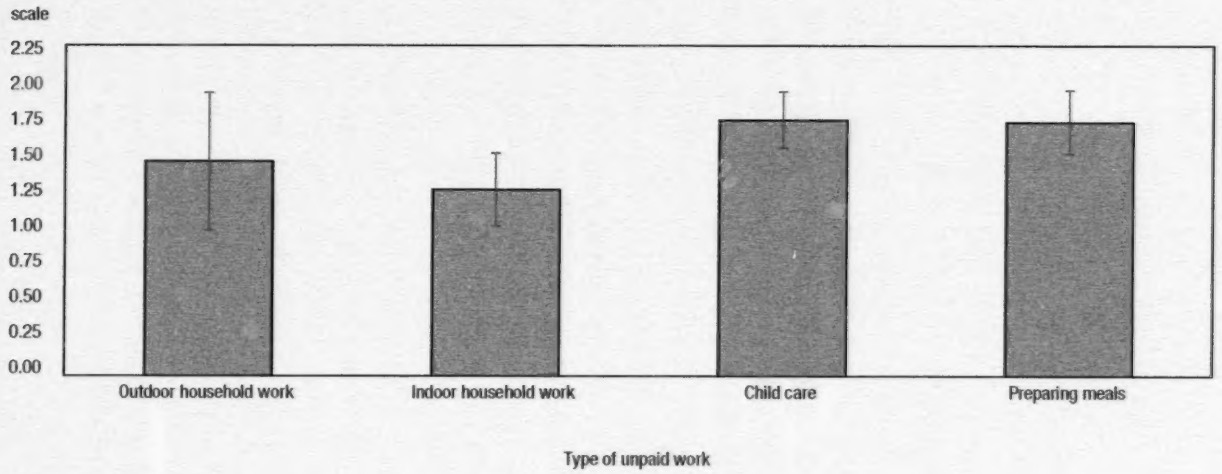
In Canada, men clearly continue to be responsible for outdoor work and repairs. In 2015, the probability that fathers had performed outdoor work or renovations during a day was almost three times higher than the probability observed for women (19% and 7%, respectively). GSS data indicate increased participation of mothers in this type of activity. For example, the proportion of mothers who had performed outdoor work or repairs during a day had increased, from 5% in 1986 to 7% in 2015. Among fathers, the proportion remained relatively unchanged during the period (edging up from 18% to 19%).

Despite this, 80% of the total number of hours spent on outdoor work and repairs by Canadian parents had been carried out by fathers.

Fathers are more involved with their children than before

According to various studies, time spent on child care is generally perceived by parents as pleasant, contrary to indoor household work like laundry and cleaning (see Sullivan 2013). During the survey, respondents were asked to rank, on a scale of -3 to +3, the extent to which various activities they had taken part in during the day were pleasant or unpleasant (-3 for the least pleasant, +3 for the most pleasant). In 2015, using this scale, it is not surprising to see that time devoted to child care was considered more pleasant than time spent on housework (Chart 3).

Chart 3
Parents' ranking of how pleasant unpaid activities are on a scale of -3 to +3, 2015



I confidence interval
Source: Statistics Canada, 2015 General Social Survey.

That being said, although activities related to parenting, such as playing, can be pleasant, there are many recurring, sometimes exhausting responsibilities. Studies usually show that mothers take on more responsibilities than fathers in this regard, even if fathers are more involved than they were in the past. (Raley et al. 2012; Yeung et al. 2001).

In Canada, the level of involvement of fathers with their children had increased significantly in comparison with 1986. More specifically, the percentage of fathers who had spent time providing help or care to children increased, from about 1 in 3 fathers on an average day in 1986 to 1 in 2 fathers in 2015.[6] Despite this increase in the participation of fathers, mothers continued to be more likely to provide help or care to their children (66% in 2015 and in 1986). Moreover, when mothers provided help and care to children, they spent more time doing so than fathers (respectively 2.6 hours and 1.9 hours per day on average).

The supervision of children, particularly those of a young age, is often done at the same time as other household or domestic tasks, especially among mothers. In 2015, 46% of mothers said they had done, at least once during the day, some sort of activity while simultaneously tending to their children. In comparison, this proportion was 30% for fathers (data not shown). This information is not available for 1986.

Parents are less likely to spend time shopping than 30 years ago

The last type of unpaid household activity that can be compared for both reference years are purchases and services (e.g., grocery shopping, shopping for clothes, car maintenance, research for purchasing goods and services, etc.). As was the case with help and care of children, these activities can be pleasant to some. Despite this, they cannot

6. For this study, child care included getting children ready for school, helping them with their homework, reprimanding and raising them, accompanying them to school, and so on. Help and care to children of all ages were included.

be considered leisure activities because it would theoretically be possible to hire a paid employee to carry them out (which is not the case for a leisure activity such as watching television, playing sports, or so on).

Trends regarding the participation of fathers and mothers in purchase- and service-related activities are different than those recorded for other types of household work and child care. Between 1986 and 2015, the daily participation rate decreased for mothers, reaching 36% in 2015 compared with 46% in 1986. The rate remained relatively the same for fathers, at around 25% (Table 1).

However, for both mothers and fathers who had taken part in this type of activity, time spent on the activity was not as high as it was 30 years ago[7]. For example, among those who went shopping, time spent on the activity was less than 90 minutes, a 23-minute decrease.

More time spent commuting

The amount of time Canadians spend on travelling to and from work has increased considerably from the early 1990s to 2010 (Turcotte 2011). More specifically, the amount of time Canadians spend commuting to work or elsewhere also increased significantly between 1986 and 2015. This was particularly true for mothers.

In fact, mothers who had commuted during the day had spent an average of 17 minutes more on the commute than they had 30 years ago. Annually, this represents over 103 full hours, and 4 more additional full days dedicated to commuting (whether by car, walking or another means of transportation). This increase can possibly be explained by the rise in the proportion of women who held a paid job outside the home.

Factors associated with the involvement of fathers and mothers

The first sections of this article focused on the participation of fathers and mothers in household work, child care and unpaid work in general. The sections that follow will look at the factors and individual characteristics associated with participation in unpaid work (household work and child care), as well as in the differences between fathers and mothers in 2015.

The factors associated with participation are not necessarily the same for fathers and mothers, and can also differ based on whether we look at household work or child care.

Mothers do household work, regardless of how long they spend on paid work

Time spent on paid work, by definition, is time that cannot be dedicated to unpaid household work and child care. However, a number of day-to-day household activities must be repeated every day, whether or not an individual has worked outside the home, such as preparing meals or lunches for the children, cleaning up after meals, and so on.

A mother's propensity to participate in household work varied according to whether or not she had participated in paid work during the reference day. For example, 86% of mothers who had worked 8 or more hours during the day had performed household work, compared with 95% of those who had not participated in paid work.

The scenario was similar for fathers, who were also less likely to spend time on household work when they had participated in paid work during the day. Specifically, whereas 87% of fathers who had not worked during the reference day had been involved in household work, this was the case for 65% of them who had worked 8 hours or more (Table 2).

Among fathers who had not participated in paid work but who had performed household work during the reference day, the average time spent on household work was 225 minutes. In comparison, the average time spent on household work was 77 minutes for those who had worked 8 hours or more during the day. Similar trends were seen

7. It is possible that time spent on online shopping, which has become increasingly popular, had been counted as time spent online, whether it be time spent on the general use of a computer or mobile device.

among women. These results possibly stem from the fact that some household work that takes more time can be done during days off.

For fathers and mothers alike, the daily participation rate and time spent helping and caring for children decreased when the number of hours of paid work in the day increased (Table 3). That being said, in almost all categories of hours of paid work, mothers were more likely than fathers to have helped their children or provided child care.

For example, among parents having participated in 8 hours or more of paid work during the day, 60% of mothers had provided help or care to their children, compared with 44% of fathers. In fact, mothers who had worked at a paid job for 8 hours or more during the day were more likely to have provided child care than fathers who had not worked at all during the day (60% versus 50%).

Fathers of young children are less likely than fathers of older children to do household work, but are more present when it comes to helping or caring for their children

In 2015, fathers of young children aged 4 or younger were somewhat less likely (73%) to perform household work than fathers of children aged 13 and over (81%). In comparison, the participation rate of mothers in household work remained higher than that of fathers, regardless of the children's age. In fact, a large majority of them (above 90%) had performed household work during the reference day, regardless of their children's age.

Parental responsibilities, like providing help and care to children, decrease as children get older. In 2015, 72% of fathers with at least one child between 0 and 4 years of age had provided help or care to their child during the day. By comparison, the proportion for fathers whose youngest child was 13 years or older was 10%. A similar scenario was reported among women: 90% of mothers with a child between the ages of 0 and 4 had provided help or care to their child, compared with 24% of mothers whose youngest child was between 13 and 17 years of age.

For all children's age groups, the daily participation rate of fathers had increased in comparison with 1986. However, the participation rate of mothers exceeded that of fathers for each of the age groups. For example, among parents whose youngest child was between the ages of 5 and 12, 68% of mothers, compared with 51% of fathers, had provided them with help or child care.

Fathers born in Canada are more likely to spend time on household work

Numerous studies have revealed that the level of involvement of men in household and domestic tasks varied considerably by national context. On the one hand, cultural values that pertain to gender roles and that are sometimes very different from one society to another can also have an impact on the more or less equal sharing of tasks within the household (see Cooke and Baxter 2010; Hook 2010).

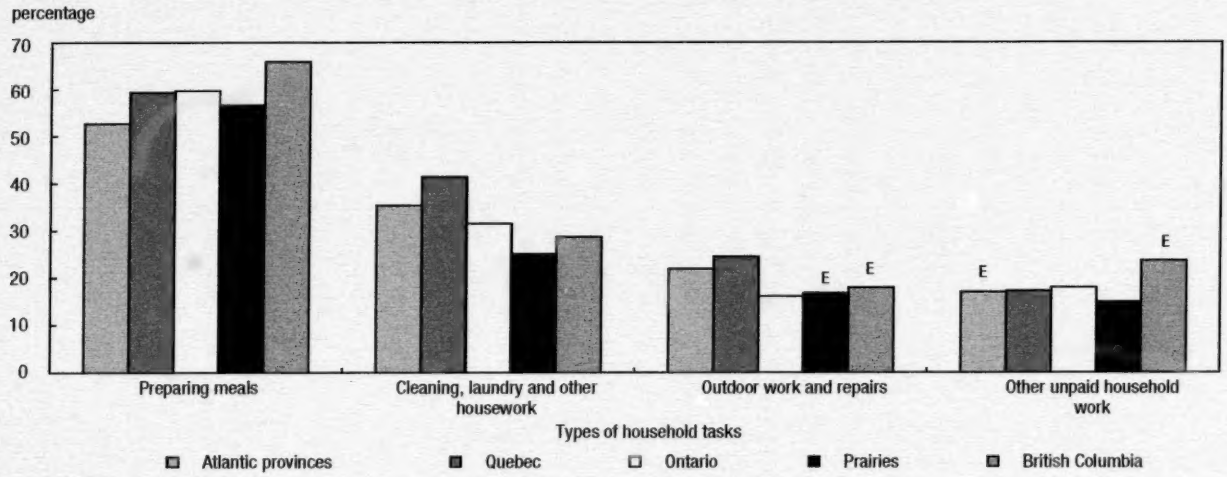
On the other hand, different public policies can also have a longer-term impact on how parents share their parental and household responsibilities (Hook 2010). In Canada, family policies vary from one province to another. For example, non-transferable parental leave for fathers exists only in Quebec. This could lead us to believe that the place of birth or residence could have an impact on the level of involvement of fathers.

Despite this and considering all household work, the province or residence did not seem to be an influencing factor; participation rates are not significantly different among provinces.

However, when we look at the different types of household activities, larger gaps can be seen. More specifically, fathers in Quebec were more likely[8] (41% participation rate) than those from other areas of the country to participate in housework (housekeeping, dishes, laundry, ironing, etc.) (Chart 4).

8. The difference between Quebec and the Prairies is statistically significant, for example.

Chart 4
Daily participation rate of fathers in different types of household work, by place of residence, 2015



E use with caution
Source: Statistics Canada, 2015 General Social Survey.

Education

The proportion of fathers who perform domestic tasks varies by education level. In 2015, 81% of fathers with a postsecondary diploma or certificate spent some time doing domestic tasks, whereas the rate for fathers with a high school diploma or less was 71%. The rate for fathers with a university degree was not much different, at 73%. On the other hand, the rate for mothers does not vary significantly by education level, hovering around 90% (Table 2).

When it came to care of children, however, higher education levels were associated with increased participation rates for both fathers and mothers. In 2015, 43% of fathers and 60% of mothers with a high school diploma or less devoted some time on an average day to child care, whereas the rates were 53% for fathers and 71% for mothers with a university degree. Regardless of education level, mothers devoted significantly more time to child care than fathers in 2015 (Table 3).

Work schedule

Children, particularly school-aged children, usually have a schedule that can be qualified as regular, at least from the point of view of most workers: waking up and having breakfast, organized or supervised activities from the morning until the end of the afternoon (school, daycare or home), followed by dinner and bedtime.

Because it is very similar to their own schedule, this type of schedule can suit the majority of workers. However, tending to children and household work can be a greater challenge for parents who work non-traditional hours, either because they work rotating shifts or split schedules, in the evening or at night, or even irregular hours, etc.

In 2015, there was a gap between the participation rate in child care for mothers with a normal work schedule and those with a non-traditional schedule. For example, 68% of working mothers with a normal schedule had provided help or care to children during the day, compared with 55% of mothers who had a non-traditional schedule.

Moreover, self-employed workers can have schedules that vary significantly. For example, some self-employed workers must adjust their work hours based on their clients' needs, whereas others must work mostly during the evening. When looking at self-employed parents who participate in household work, there were major differences between fathers and mothers. Among self-employed mothers in 2015, almost all (95%) had performed household work during an average day, compared with only 70% of self-employed fathers. This difference could be explained in part by the fact that more self-employed women work from home, especially to find a work–life balance (Turcotte 2010).

Finally, the distance between the place of work and the home, which can be associated with an increase in commuting time, was not associated with the probability of having or not having performed household work during the day. The amount of time spent on household work as well as on helping and caring for children was not correlated with the distance of the commute between the home and the workplace.

Conclusion

Inequalities between men and women, with regard to unpaid housework and parental responsibilities, are related to inequalities that exist in the workplace (and vice versa) (Hook 2010). For this reason, it is important to track trends in the division of tasks between fathers and mothers, namely household work and parental responsibilities.

Between 1986 and 2015, the proportion of fathers who participated in household work and in the help and care of children increased considerably. At the same time, the proportion of mothers who did so remained relatively stable. As a result, mothers were more likely to have taken part in both household work and in the help and care of children.

The participation rate of fathers did not increase at the same pace for all types of household work. For example, fathers' participation in preparing meals rose from 29% to 59% between 1986 and 2015; during the same period, their participation in cleaning, laundry and other indoor household work rose from 22% to 33%. Studies on perceptions of housework show that many men are not interested in participating in certain types of household work.

Data sources and definitions

This report is based on the data from the 2015 and 1986 General Social Survey (GSS). The target population was composed of people aged 15 and over living in the 10 provinces of Canada, except for people living full time in institutions.

For more information on data sources, please refer to the following documents:

2015 GSS on Time Use

http://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=4503

1986 GSS on Time Use

http://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&Id=3607

Box 1: General Social Survey – Time Use

The General Social Survey (GSS) on Time Use is a cross-sectional survey, whose target population consists of non-institutionalized persons 15 years of age and older, living in the 10 provinces. While the GSS is collected every year on different themes, time use is generally measured every five years. This study compares data from 1986, Cycle 2 with data from 2015, Cycle 29.

While the surveys were conducted 30 years apart, the results presented here are for questions on time use and various characteristics that were asked in a similar manner. A 24-hour diary was used to retrospectively collect all the activities a respondent did on a designated day starting at 4:00 a.m. and ending at 4:00 a.m. the next day. All activities lasting at least 10 minutes were recorded. For each activity, additional information was also gathered to provide a better picture of how long the activity lasted, where it happened and who was present during the activity.

Definitions

Reference day and average

In the General Social Survey on Time Use, during data collection, the sample was uniformly distributed across the year in order to get time use diaries for each day of the week and for all the months of the year. The average day concept reflects the average participation rate and time allocated to the different activities for all days of the week across the year for a given population.

Participation rates

Participation rates can be described as the proportion of persons who reported having done an activity on an average day.

2015 Activity codes:

Paid work:

- Paid work
- Looking for work
- Other income-generating activities
- Paid training
- Selling of goods or services

Meal preparation

- Meal, lunch or snack preparation
- Preserving foods (baking, freezing, sealing, packing foods)

Household chores and interior maintenance

- Indoor house cleaning, dish washing, tidying
- Laundry, ironing, folding, sewing, shoe care

Household chores and exterior maintenance

- Taking out garbage, recycling, compost, unpacking goods
- Reapair, painting or renovation
- Outdoor maintenance (car repair, ground maintenance, snow removal, cutting grass)

Other unpaid work related to the household

- Organizing, planning, paying bills
- Unpacking groceries, packing and unpacking luggage for travel and/or boxes for a move
- Planting (picking)/maintaining, cleaning garden, caring for house plants
- Pet care (feeding, walking, grooming, playing)

Care for children

- Caring for a child from your household who is less than 15 years old; personal care, getting ready for school, supervising homework, reading, playing, reprimanding, educational, emotional help
- Caring for a child from your household who is less than 15 years old; accompanying to or from school, bus stop, sports, activities, parent school meetings or appointments
- Caring for a teenager from your household who is 15 to 17 years old; helping with homework, playing, reprimanding, educational, personal care, getting ready for school, emotional help
- Caring for a teenager from your household who is 15 to 17 years old; accompanying to or from school, bus stop, sports, activities, parent school meetings or appointments

Shopping for goods or services

- Shopping for or buying goods (gasoline, groceries, clothing, car)
- Shopping for services (legal services, financial services, vehicle maintenance)
- Researching for goods or services

1986 activity codes:

Paid work

- Work for pay
- Extra to work/overtime/looking for work
- Waiting, delays at work
- Idle time before or after work
- Uncodeable work activities

Meals preparation

- Meal preparation

Domestic work and interior maintenance

- Meal clean-up (dishes/clearing table)
- Indoor cleaning (dusting/vacuuming)
- Laundry, ironing, folding
- Mending

Domestic work and outside maintenance

- Outdoor cleaning (sidewalks/garbage)
- Home repairs, maintenance

Other unpaid work related to the household

- Gardening, pet care
- Other uncodable housework

Care of children

- Baby care
- Child care
- Helping teaching, reprimanding children
- Reading, talking, conversation with children
- Play with children
- Medical care – child

Shopping and Services

- Everyday shopping (food, clothing, gas)
- Shopping for durable household goods (house, car)
- Personal care services (hairdresser)
- Government and financial services
- Adult medical and dental care (outside home)
- Other professional services (lawyer)
- Repair services (cleaning, auto, appliance)
- Waiting, queuing for purchase
- Other uncodeable services

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Table 1
Participation rate and time spent on paid and unpaid work, 1986 and 2015

	Participation rate				Average time (participants)			
	Men (ref.)		Women		Men (ref.)		Women	
	1986	2015	1986	2015	1986	2015	1986	2015
Total, parents of children 17 years and under	percentage				minutes			
Paid work and looking for employment	69	64	36*	47*†	485	502	380*	430*†
Unpaid household work, total	**51**	**76†**	**93***	**93*†**	**120**	**145†**	**203***	**181***
Meal preparation	29	59†	86*	81*†	41	67†	81*	90*†
Cleaning, laundry and other housework	22	33†	83*	65*†	62	84†	128*	108*†
Outdoor work and repairs	18	19	5*	7*	163	167	95*	107†*
Other unpaid household work	10	18†	14*	29*†	65	64	57	62
Child care	33	49†	66*	66*	95	113	120*	156*†
Purchases and services	29	25	46*	36*†	109	86†	109	86†
Travelling and commuting (all means)	87	88	81*	83*	84	95	74	91†

E use with caution
* significantly different from the reference category estimate ($p < 0.05$)
† significantly different from the 1986 estimate ($p < 0.05$)
Sources: Statistics Canada, 1986 and 2015 General Social Survey.

Table 2
Time spent by mothers and fathers on household work during the reference day, by different individual characteristics, 2015

	Did household work		Average length of time spent on household work (participants)	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
	percentage		minutes	
Number of hours worked during the reference day				
No hours (ref.)	87	95†	225	231
Less than 8 hours	75*	95†	101*	139*†
8 or more hours	65*	86*†	77*	99*†
Age of youngest child				
0 to 4 years (ref.)	73	92†	129	177†
5 to 12 years	75	93†	154*	178†
13 years or older	81*	95†	156	193†
Place of birth				
Canada (ref.)	77	94†	152	174†
Rest of the world	73	94†	136	199*†
Region of birth (Canada)				
Atlantic provinces	76	92†	136	148*
Quebec	79	94†	160	162
Ontario (ref.)	77	92†	159	183
Prairies	77	96†	138	184†
British Columbia	78	95†	134	175
Place of residence				
Atlantic provinces	72	91†	137	164*†
Quebec	79	94†	153	159*
Ontario (ref.)	76	94†	144	191†
Prairies	71	92†	143	195†
British Columbia	79	95†	139	177
Educational attainment				
High school diploma or less (ref.)	71	96†	133	198†
Postsecondary diploma or certificate	81*	93†	156	187†
University diploma	73	92†	144	169†
Work schedule				
Employee, normal schedule (ref.)	78	92†	145	165†
Employee, non-traditional schedule	73	94†	162	167
Self-employed or unpaid family worker	70*	95†	120	174†
Distance between the home and workplace				
Less than 10 km (ref.)	76	93†	157	170
10 to 24 km	78	95†	135	153
25 km or more	79	91†	151	181

* significantly different from the reference category estimate ($p < 0.05$)
† significantly different from the estimate for fathers ($p < 0.05$)
Source: Statistics Canada, 2015 General Social Survey.

Table 3
Time spent by mothers and fathers on child care as the main activity during the reference day, by different individual characteristics, 2015

	Provided help or care to children		Average length of time spent on child care (participants)	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
	percentage		minutes	
Number of hours worked during the reference day				
No hours (ref.)	50	70[†]	136	191[†]
Less than 8 hours	58	64	113*	125*
8 or more hours	44	60*[†]	87*	92*
Age of youngest child				
0 to 4 years (ref.)	72	90[†]	132	194[†]
5 to 12 years	51*	68*[†]	89*	118*[†]
13 years or older	10[F]*	24*[†]	66[†]*	76*
Place of birth				
Canada (ref.)	51	69[†]	112	152[†]
Rest of the world	47	61*[†]	113	160[†]
Region of birth (Canada)				
Atlantic provinces	50	62[†]	121	142
Quebec	52	73[†]	110	141[†]
Ontario (ref.)	50	65[†]	111	171[†]
Prairies	47	73[†]	107	159[†]
British Columbia	62	73	140	115*
Place of residence				
Atlantic provinces	53	59	111	152[†]
Quebec	49	72*[†]	104	138*[†]
Ontario (ref.)	48	61[†]	119	168[†]
Prairies	48	72*[†]	105	172[†]
British Columbia	56	66	123	119*
Educational attainment				
High school diploma or less (ref.)	43	60[†]	110	159[†]
Postsecondary diploma or certificate	49	65[†]	107	156[†]
University diploma	53*	71*[†]	118	152[†]
Work schedule				
Employee, normal schedule (ref.)	52	68[†]	103	143[†]
Employee, non-traditional schedule	49	55*	125	124
Self-employed or unpaid family worker	40*	60[†]	120	150
Distance between the home and workplace				
Less than 10 km (ref.)	51	60	107	140[†]
10 to 24 km	55	67[†]	106	142[†]
25 km or more	47	70*[†]	112	136

[F] use with caution
* significantly different from the reference category estimate ($p < 0.05$)
[†] significantly different from the estimate for fathers ($p < 0.05$)
Source: Statistics Canada, 2015 General Social Survey.